

ME that these patriarchates are "autcephalous" and independent of each other. The  
 775 so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than *primus*  
 L inter *pari*, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox  
 775 Churches in Europe have developed autcephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was maintained under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the *Millet system*) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, unfortunately enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Rum," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hsia, 1912, p. 23). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rum. However, this is often confused with "Rumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Uthakhiyyi," a term which, like "Qusqushmadd," does not call easily of Arabic-speaking tongues.

ME Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox  
 774 Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationalism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in  
 L striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered  
 774 externally, all orthodox churches represent free communion. Within the bounds of the ecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zakari, 1929, p. 24).

ME What Zakari says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab  
 621 members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Zakari says that  
 775 the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the  
 775 outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest  
 L is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and after his ordination he is left very  
 621 much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if  
 775 he has any. He is usually married (Zakari, 1944, p. 541). Zakari gives a  
 775 similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priests' service is no wise life than to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of man" (1929, p. 86). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (*ibid.*, p. 87).

L  
 346 Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sarkis in Marjayoun is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open balcony (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the southern end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a hard oak, planed, painted pale blue, and quilted with small gilt stars. At about eye level,

running around the cross, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a roller stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is set in a niche and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary (*kyrie*) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the *kanoun*, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the wall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the *kanoun*, each with one step up. The *kanoun* is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the *kanoun*, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the three doors there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the *kanoun* is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in rather bright colors—browns, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gurgyles, each terminating in a representation of the human head. From each is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the *kanoun* are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath these, on the floor, are two incense (*fat*-topped, square, wooden tables) and two huge brass censers which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (*lily*) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a Maronite and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from Shekhan. There is a priest in Baḥana, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Marjil serves his own village and also the others in the Qunā when he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jiddayil. The priest wears his long black cassock and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each *deir* (*dayr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and *kanoun*. Mar Manna is not in good repair, and no longer contains any portable equipment. Mar Jurja and Mar Mikhail, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the *deirs* are isolated from each other and from the village. Each *deir* (as well as Mar Sakhin) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated in sections by private citizens as *waqf*. Mar Manna, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a similar extent of *waqf* donated mostly by Maronite Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allotted to that lineage. Mar Jurja and Mar Mikhail are in an exactly similar

346 position with respect to Maximal Lineage A and B, respectively, except that these  
 423 shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two  
 429 hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *wasf*. The more common is  
 429 land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a  
 429 vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an  
 429 endowment. There is another kind of *wasf*, also, however, and this is represented  
 429 in Mansif by Mar Jurjo and his *wasf*. In this case the *wasf* is a sort of family  
 trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mansif,  
 A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is  
 the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634-  
 643) is credited with the invention of *wasf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar  
 legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199-220). It happens that the present priest be-  
 429 longs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjo even if he  
 429 were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *wasf* lands, and the  
 income from them is his. The disposition of *wasf* income is not made in this way  
 everywhere, but this arrangement makes a similar contribution to the support of  
 the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the  
 priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a  
 household.

774 Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mansif  
 formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village  
 school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their  
 parents.

## SCHOOLS

252 "Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approxi-  
 mates universal literacy" (Mathews and Akrowi, 1948, p. 407). Mansif is cer-  
 tainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on  
 education.

972 In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the  
 "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational  
 system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books.  
 There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members  
 of the village (A.V and C.XX).

[177] The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incom-  
 plete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that  
 in Mansif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the  
 end of which the student receives a certificate. There are some public schools  
 (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years farther,  
 a *brevet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education  
 beyond the *brevet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three  
 courses to choose from (Mathews and Akrowi, 1948, pp. 417-18). He may choose

The Law of 1928 provides that any community of 800 persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 10-100 persons, the council has two members; 100-1000, four members; 1500-2500, six members (Kishor, 1952, p. 28). Since World War II, Masyif's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from Groups A.VI, A.VIII, A.X, and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members maintain a book of aid, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the press and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve sentences. Mayor and council serve without salary (Kishor, 1952, pp. 29-31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cultural survey of all land holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village committee, and the government departments do not regularly patrol it. If were criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Masyif, they would have no work."

#### THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *Akhar* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *haka* (daddy). *Akhar* (our father), usually known, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *Akhar*, *Akharipah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-daktar* or *Daktar* Makhall. Here again, his wife was often called *daktarah*. "Daktar" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakim* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used occasionally in oblique reference to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "Al-Akharai makhall *hakim*," ("The priest is like a doctor.")